

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY BONN

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 190413

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, WB, GW, US, UR, FR, UK

SUBJECT: SOVIET THOUGHTS ON TEXT OF MESSAGE ON QA'S
FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

REF; STATE 185023

1. FOLLOWING UP ON HIS JULY 22 PROPOSAL FOR AN EXCHANGE OF
MINISTERIAL-LEVEL MESSAGES ON THE QA'S FIFTH ANNIVERSARY
(REFTEL) -OVIET AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN SENT ASSISTANT
SECRETARY HARTMAN THE SOVIET SIDE'S "PRELIMINARY CONSIDER-
ATIONS" ON THE CONTENT OF THE SOVIET TEXT. FOLLOWING IS
THE TEXT:

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BEGIN TEXT: "IN DRAWING UP OUR TELEGRAM WE HAVE IN MIND TO

NOTE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT AS AN IMPORTANT ACHIEVEMENT OF THE POLICY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. WE ARE GOING TO NOTE FURTHER THAT DUE TO THE AGREEMENT WE HAVE SUCCEEDED TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT IN REMOVING TENSION IN THE REGION WHICH WAS A SOURCE OF DANGEROUS CRISES FOR MORE THAN TWO DECADES. BESIDES WE CONSIDER IT IMPORTANT TO POINT OUT THAT THE TASK OF FURTHER IMPROVING THE SITUATION REQUIRES STRICT OBSERVANCE AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT SO THAT WEST BERLIN BECOMES A CONSTRUCTIVE ELEMENT OF PEACE AND RELAXATION OF TENSION ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT. WE THINK IT ALSO ADVISABLE TO

TO STRESS THE IMPORTANCE OF EFFECTIVE COOPERATION OF THE FOUR POWERS IN ACHIEVING THIS GOAL. END TEXT.

2. WE ARE NOT AWARE OF WHETHER THE SOVIETS HAVE PRESENTED SIMILAR LANGUAGE TO THE BRITISH AND FRENCH. EMBASSY BONN SHOULD INFORM BONN GROUP OF SOVIET TEXT ON URGENT BASIS AND DETERMINE WHETHER UK AND FRENCH HAVE RECEIVED SIMILAR SOVIET CONSIDERATIONS. WE WOULD ALSO APPRECIATE AN EARLY INDICATION OF FRG THINKING ON THE GENERAL IDEA OF A QUADRIPARTITE EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES BETWEEN MINISTERS.

3. IN PRESENTING SOVIET LANGUAGE IN BONN GROUP, US REP SHOULD MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS:

(A) IF IT IS DETERMINED THAT THE THREE ALLIES AND THE USSR SHOULD EXCHANGE TELEGRAMS AS THE SOVIETS HAVE PROPOSED, THEN THE SOVIET TEXT FORMS A REASONABLE BASIS FOR DISCUSSION.

(B) WE WOULD NOT WISH TO ACCEPT THE REFERENCE TO "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" IN THE FIRST SENTENCE. AN ALTERNATIVE FORMULATION MIGHT BE "EASING TENSIONS IN EUROPE".

(C) THE REFERENCE TO "WEST BERLIN" IN THE PENULTIMATE SENTENCE IS, OF COURSE, UNACCEPTABLE. PERHAPS THE BEST WAY AROUND THIS DIFFICULT ISSUE OF NOMENCLATURE OF THE AREA IN QUESTION WOULD BE TO DROP THE ENTIRE CLAUSE
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BEGINNING WITH "SO THAT". ALTERNATIVELY, THAT CLAUSE MIGHT BE REPLACED BY THE FOLLOWING FORMULATION: ,TO ENSURE ITS (THE AGREEMENT'S) CONTINUING ROLE AS A CONSTRUCTIVE ELEMENT OF PEACE AND RELAXATION OF TENSION ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT".

4. BONN 12871 RECEIVED AFTER ABOVE DRAFTED. DEPARTMENT BELIEVES SUBSTANTIVE PORTION OF TELEGRAMS WHICH WOULD BE

EXCHANGED AMONG THE FOUR PARTIES TO THE QA SHOULD BE WORKED OUT INFORMALLY WITH THE SOVIETS IN ADVANCE, AND SHOULD BE IDEALLY IDENTICAL. WE BELIEVE THAT FAILURE TO AGREE ON PRECISE TEXT IN ADVANCE WITH SOVIETS COULD RESULT IN PRESSURES ON ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER TO RESPOND TO OBJECTIONABLE LANGUAGE AND COULD LEAD ALLIES AND SOVIETS INTO UNPRODUCTIVE ROUND OF PUBLIC EXCHANGES, EXACTLY THE RESULT WE WISH TO AVOID.

5. WE BELIEVE THE FRENCH "NON-TEXT" WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR THE SOVIETS TO SWALLOW. WE VIEW THE SOVIET TEXT WITH THE CHANGES SUGGESTED IN PARA 3 ABOVE AS SUFFICIENTLY

NEUTRAL TO WARRANT ALLIED AND FRG CONSIDERATION. DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE BONN GROUP REACTION SOONEST. KISSINGER

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